Lithuaingford E-4,5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

and lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, basically similar to Dorobo types (measurements from the Kamasi bow [Dorobo op.] 5 ft. 6 in. long), and the bowstring, used, is made from gut of the giant pig, Hylochoerus. Arrow-shafts are made from the Acokanthera and sometimes from the Euphorbia candelabri; arrow-heads are bought from the Kamasi, and are of the Kamasi patterns. Arrows are carried in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the Acokanthera Schimperi.

Basketry

Making baskets, though, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from fibre of the plantain-resembling palm, *Hyphaene*, and sewn with bast made from a plant called *ngwenetet*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat plait gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-over type and two-step variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *Salsola Aucheriana*, but coarse white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Kamasi who, in 1938, gave them 2s. a bag. Red earth, *mokwet*, is mixed with fat or ointment as fat rubbing on the body; white earth, *mwonet*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called *kibwaiet* is used. It is made of a pair of oval rims 2 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of bark stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of tennis-racket rackets. These are sometimes used by the Kamasi.

Beliefs and Customs

Religion

Asista, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, ipkore ipkoyoti*, "Asis, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Asista* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilat*, the Dorobo, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *mwendwa*, a word which includes the ash (ancestral spirits) and *mwaamberenik* (evil spirits) of the Kamasi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Kamasi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both in an Iten people and in one kind in the form of *kibukeiti* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have reasons to divine/ask as to cause of illness or witchcraft, they go to Kamasi diviners of the type called *oiboyanik* by whom they are charged a shilling fee. The people called *ollotyot-ap-arkaldi* among the Dorobo are no more than healers or physicians who prepare healing medicines from roots and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful sun-makers, they themselves say that they have no sun-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

The old, sick and weak are buried in narrow holes about 4 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length, varying from children who are put into a sitting position by children about a month of age, to old people who are laid down in a grave. Other people are laid out for the funeral, both sexes on the right side with

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA ↔ robo FLA

covered with a strip of soft hide—often the of reedbuck or 411
leopard—worked to a state of pliability resembling that of chamois leather. The barb is never coated with poison under any circumstances.

A small supply of *bush poison* (*agwaro*) is sometimes carried [378] ●
in the keel of the quiver. This poison is a hot, sticky mass [439]
made by boiling the leaves of a certain tree and is manufactured exclusively by the Wakumbe. The Dorsi know nothing about it, hold it in considerable awe, and have never attempted to make poison of their own.[1]

In the quiver is also carried a fire-stick (*kiwindagwo*) and a 378
fire-block (*arumadi*). The Dorobo are expert at making fire and scorn to use matches. A small flat spoon (*kanzikiwandia*) 418
for smearing poison on the arrow-heads is carried—this spoon is made from the same wood as the bow; and a small knife for smoothing and rounding the arrow-shafts. This knife is called *awasu ziziki*.[2] A wooden tube about twelve to eighteen inches long and a quarter of an inch diameter, not unlike a pea-shooter, will always be found in Dorobo quiver. This tube, called *endulo*, is used for drinking out pools which are shallow or which have a dirty, scummy place. (It is a [391]
point of honour with every Dorobo and an injunction built law that a man should not stir up the mud in any water at which he drinks.) The *endulo* is also used to blow, by blowing 392
through it, a blaze or clouds of smoke from [coal grass put into a fire to drive the bees away from the honey.

A Dorobo quiver, as we have seen, contains a large number of 415
objects essential to the bush life that the Dorobo leads. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that it is next to impossible to purchase a furnished one. A Dorobo once told me (I am sure he meant it) that he would not exchange his quiver and its contents for five cows. The price usually paid to [383]
the parents of a girl taken in marriage is [illegible] cows, to five cows, over a subsequent six-year payment; but for a full quiver would be regarded as extortionate.

The Dorobo may be seen sometimes with a small axe which 412

[1] That is, arrow poison. The Dorobo are reputed to have a powerful poison they use over seed. When hunting, it is stated to have a local result. [391]
[illegible] to obtain a specimen of this poison and found the statement [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

SOME *MINIRO* FOLK-TALES, FOLK-LORE AND SUPERSTITIONS

" Epito dimdo kitii " [1]

These answered a *Miniro* Dorobo whom I called on his silence and attitude of strained attention during a halt by the wayside when on safari in the remoter areas of the Tanganyika Mossi Reserve.

The bush and what can be wrested from it—wood for his bow and arrows, honey for his wife and children and for barter, the bark of the *Ol-mukutwa* [2] tree, fibre for plaiting into his hair, and last (but most important of all) the skins and the meat of game animals—these things bound the horizon of the Dorobo. It is therefore not to be wondered at that such folk-lore tales as exist among the Dorobo at the present time are chiefly concerned with animals and animal life. Similarly, the paramount interest in life of the Mossi is apparent from a study of the extant folk-tales of that tribe, which deal, to a great extent, with cattle and other domestic stock. The tales one hears told to-day are, in all probability, but a few of the more easily-remembered of a host of stories now forgotten for all time.

The following examples have been selected from a large number of stories told by the *Miniro* themselves and admitted by the Mossi to be Dorobo in origin.

The Ostrich and the Elephant.—The ostrich, when out walking in the bush one day, chanced to fall over a piece of elephant-dung in his path. This made him very angry and he said: " Thou art I recommended by the dung of the elephant! I am so small that I cannot hope to inconvenience him in like manner, but I will arrange for all the members of my tribe to come and make use of one place, and thus in time the heap may grow big enough to trip a passing elephant." This is the reason why piles of ostrich-dung, showing that many of these animals [illegible] path. (A story very like this is told by certain Coastal tribes.)

The Tortoise, the Hare and the Hyaena.—These three made an agreement to rob a rich snake. The latter had cattle and

[1] " I am listening to something in the bush." Cf. the Mossi *Ya-dim kitii*.

[2] *Albizzia antidysenterica*, according to the authority quoted in Dalziel. It is used as a remedy for stomach ache and to produce a huge appetite. It is highly prized by the Mossi and is scarce in the Dorobo localities.

Schlesinghaus B-5 (501-/503)/509 FLA Dresden FLA

Hunting

224 The chief occupation and, in fact, till the last few years, the only occupation of the Dwellas, is hunting (*ngan*: Kiny., *kiy-ngan-kan* = hunter). They say that at the present day they do not hunt as much as they used to. All kinds of animals were the objects of the chase; the buffalo (*kijanumb*; D. *wini*), rhinoceros (*kijibwai*), leopard (*wollibo*, D.), lion (*wombi*; *kjakinombi* D.), giant pig (*mombo*, D.) were among the bigger game hunted. Various kinds of monkeys and antelopes are also sought after, both for their skins and their meat. (See "Food" for a list of the animals eaten by the Dwellas.)

[xiii] The weapons used in the chase are the bow (*bogolighi*, D.) and arrow (*bisai*, D.; *mbwaiti*, etc.), and spears (*dikenombolo*?). Arrows and spears for hunting are poisoned with a concoction made from the bitter tree (*D.*)? Formerly, before the elephant disappeared from the Dwellas region it was hunted and killed with poisoned spears. Small game, besides being shot, are also caught in traps and snares, of which the Dwellas have two kinds; buffalo are also caught in the first kind.

[xiv] (1) The (*ngwai*), armed with thin sticks and horns, with spikes (*kijanangkinai*) on to the bottom. (2) Snares (*gumbai*; D. *nuwai*) (Text-fig. 26), which are constructed as follows: a springy stick, *b*, is stuck in the ground and bent over; to the upper end is fastened a piece of cow-rope, *R*, which is loosely attached to a hanged stick stuck in the ground, supported by three short upright sticks; a little below down the bent stick *b* is fastened a snare made from the silkworm tree, which is held in place by a thin stick stuck in the ground on each side; under the snare is made a little platform of sticks, which is covered with leaves. When this platform is touched, since it is in contact with the stick holding the rope *R*, it releases the rope, and the stick *b* flies up, thereby tightening the snare.

[xv] Dogs (*kjibbi*, pl. *kjibbi*) are used in hunting, and are the only animals kept by the Dwellas who live in the forest. When in the forest they wear leather collars, to which are attached, under the throat, a small bell. The dogs seem to be of a different breed to the ordinary kite-eared pye or common native mongrel, and they are kept in better condition. Their excrement round the huts takes the place of manure in the neighbourhood of a Fiwoli hut, and makes the air unpleasant.

A description of the weapons is given on p. 549 below.

Food

216 The staple foods of the Dwellas are honey (*bombo*, D.) and meat (*ganghi*, D.); 132 the meat they kill the following animals:—

Antelopes.

Kjikombo (D. *kwanngo*).—Blue duiker (*Cephalophus monticola*).
Mombo (D.).—Red duiker (*C. spec. incert.*).

[xiii] *Kwambura Kinjogoni.*

Kororoto (*myllocheilus mandibularis*) : honey-harvila.
Kiwuk : honey-harvila.
Kiwanyoni or *Tiwuki* (*afrex, alex chrysophylla*) : fire-wood.
Kiyuwuk : fire-wood.
Ceriat (bow sp.) : fire-sticks.
Dat (*pellis*, *platyrrae preuss*) : fire-sticks.

(b) *Plant materials*. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils[1]:

Kwiat (dry grass) : matter for making fire with fire-sticks.
† *Tuyawanyi* : fibre for baskets.
Kwiat (*phoenix reclinata palm*) : fibre for baskets.
† *Tiriat* : medicine.
† *Ngulo* : medicine.
Kororoto : medicine.
Lokyawuni : medicine.
Kiriwat : medicine.
Kiriwi : medicine.
Kiwat (*anthos sp.*) : medicine.
Tiyangiat (*aconitus integrifolius*) : salt.
Iwangiat : salt.
Kwiriwat or *Kwiria* (*bignia orthoptera*) : making honey-wine.

(c) *Horns and animal products*. These include :

† *Kwakuy* : food, clothing.
† *Iwangiat* : food, clothing, bags, quivers.
Tiyangiat : bow-strings.
Kwakuwa : arrows.
† *Kiwuy* : food, wax : ritual purposes.
Kwai's tor : ritual purposes.
Kwata : bride-payment : ritual purposes.
Lotia : bride-payment : cattle : dung : hides.
Kwak-kwak : cats for breeds.

The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small bangle, about 4 inches deep and 4 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Nandi Akamotinu, and is also a frequent article of sale or exchange for the Kisumu Akamotinu Nandi. [illegible] for the Kisumu ... as are still women with Nandi women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the wood palm, which is split into fine strips, and bark from a plant called *kipkwenet* which is used for sewing the ends of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1). The basket maker starts by splitting the wood fibre, preparing a certain length and tying it all at the

[1] Those marked with a dagger (†) are used in the preparation of objects given to the Kisumu in exchange for their products.

[illegible]

the farm. Quivers are made of ox-hide, bow-guiver is made from the bark called *bäkt* (*svorvenfiberg bildningen*), the use of which the Finnish way was discovered by the Swedes.[1] It is made in this way: leaves and branches are broken off and boiled in a pot for several hours. The resulting liquid is strained and boiled again till it becomes thick and tar-like. When cool it is placed on a sheet of bark, covered with another piece of bark and put to a tree out of the reach of children, together with the pot in which it was boiled. After resting poison a man-eater partly towards by hanging to a cross. Kaka poisons quite very quickly, but does not make the whole of the animal killed by it unfit to eat. The Swedes consider the skin of every a not very well destroyed, and the rest is eaten with safety.

The Swedes used to have hunting dogs (*vallar, pl. vallir*) which at one time were the only animals they kept. They still have dogs, but the hunting breed which I met in the Bolgan-Kijkavomi area in 1937, seems to have died out for though I met a few dogs there in 1939, they were nothing more than the ordinary native type, the tide-reward not as common to Native Reserves and as fierce whenever Whites are heard. The original breed, as I saw it in 1937, had, it is true, a tightly curled tail, but was a much better looking animal, of a different shape, and much fiercer, resembling the so-called 'fierce' dog of the Belgian Congo.[2] more than anything else, especially in its prick ears, tail, and carriage, though it could bark. When in the forest, the Swedes put bastion collars on their dogs, with a small bell under the throat so that they could tell where the animals were when they got up game. It was noticeable both in 1937 and 1939 that the Swedes covered their dogs better than Whites usually do — they paid more attention to them, played with them, and loathed them.

The traps used by the Kijkavomi are of two kinds: the pit-trap, and the springe. The pit-trap, *njarok*, is simply an oblong pit about 4 to 5 ft. long, 1½ wide, and 4½ deep, dug with digging-sticks, and the earth removed in bags or baskets. Wooden spikes, *kijkavomiak*, were often put in the bottom, and the whole was covered with thin sticks concealed by a layer of grass and leaves. The trap was dug across a path known to be used by buffalo, the animal it was chiefly intended to catch. This type is no longer used. The springe is the only trap used today. It is called *jiemek*, and can be made in a very short time by almost any Swedes. It is used chiefly to catch smaller game like antelope. The materials required to make a springe are vines, bark, and grass, and the only tool used is an axe or *panga* (the long-bladed knife of native manufacture). [illegible] The trap shown to be described was made for me on the edge of the forest at Kijkavomi by Lisimbi-ang Kuruva on 1 July 1936. It took him about (illegible) minutes from start to finish, and did all that was claimed for it. It should be noted that he was somewhat out of practice, and probably took a little longer than a man who was constantly making traps.

[1] Cf. Bäckman, *Nya Svenskt*, Helsinki 1935, p. 146.
[2] Cf. Hugo A. Bernatzik in *Journal Roy. Anthrop. Inst.* 66, 1936, 144.

/Ed. cont./

[illegible] directors. Besides such marks one also finds /[illegible]/ others that belong to individual large families and are then used in place of the former, not together with them. The point and tang of the arrows and throwing spears are always smeared along their entire length with a plant poison, which the Wandorobo themselves boil out of the wood and roots of the Acocanthera abyssinica, which they call [illegible], i.e., poison (1).

[illegible] 1. Prof. Dr. L. Lewin, Berlin, produced a glycoside, amorphous ouabain, from Acocanthera wood that the author sent to him, which shows the following characteristics: It tastes bitter and is copiously soluble in cold water; Drehung /rotation/ $[\alpha]_D = -31°$ for a 3 per cent cold dilute solution; it expands at 181°C.; it has the per cent composition $C_{30} H_{46} O_{12}$; it is precipitated by means of tannin; dissolved in concentrated sulphuric acid, it gives a quickly arising and strong fluorescence in green. -- Prof. Dr. E. [illegible], Berlin, clinically tested ouabain for serious heart ailments and expressed himself, among other things, about the results as follows: "Ouabain is easily soluble and I took advantage of this circumstance to inject it subcutaneously or intramuscularly. Injected subcutaneously or intramuscularly in a concentration of 0.3-0.4 mg. of ouabain three times daily in the above concentration, I have so far obtained for the most part among my heart patients a very prompt, excellent result in the direction of digitalis, without unpleasant side effects. If the experiences up to now continue to be equally favorable -- and I have no reason to doubt it -- there would

/346 cont./

000 /Semana I continued/ be a substantial therapeutic advance to be recorded here."
From "Über Anacardium Extingent als Mittel bei Hautkrankheiten/On Anacardium Gum Extingent as a Remedy for Skin Ailments." By L. Lewin and E. Guttmann. From a report delivered to the Berliner medizinischen Gesellschaft /Berlin Medical Society/. Berlin, 1910).

• 276 324 [434] Although the tree is not rare in the steppe around Kilimandscharo, its poisonous nature nevertheless generally seems to be known only to the Wandorobbo, since other tribes do not manufacture the poison themselves. Thus the former sell it, for example, to the Wakchaggo, the Wakamba, the Wakuafi of Aruscha (artist sent of Meyerberg /Mt. Meru/, the Wapare, etc. To have the poison two Wandorobbo always go a few thousand meters away from the camp into the bush. After they have collected branches and roots of Anacardium abyssinica, they split them into thumb-thick sticks and prepare for the cooking in separate places. The wood is boiled for several hours in an earthen pot that is half filled with river water. Then it is removed, and the liquid obtained is thickened by further cooking to a viscous porridge-like consistency. The finished poison is black and looks like pitch. 278 [434] During its preparation no woman may come either in the vicinity of the poison pot or in that of the man doing the cooking. The women who bring food and firewood therefore place these objects while calling distance. They believe that the effect of the poison is weakened or entirely destroyed through the contact or even merely the presence of a woman, whose person they, in their naïve beliefs, are unable to separate from the idea of sexual intercourse -- since the latter, according to their view, is an element acting against the poison. The same would be the case if the wife had intercourse with another man during the time the husband is busy preparing the poison, or if the husband cooked the poison while his wife was pregnant. The [415] finished poison is stored in a wooden pot (mwiki) or in a leather bag /bat/ (ngoko), and, to be sure, like the quiver with the poisoned arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]